

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943

SP22 Tapirape SP22

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Fig. 1

Ankungitãna — Ornamento de cabeça para a cerimônia do Trovão

Ankungitãna — Headdress for the Thunder Ceremony

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the Jaguar of the Skies". When this shaman dies, it is thought that many terrestrial jaguars, sent by the Jaguar of the Skies, will haunt the confines of the village. I was told, too, that when the powerful shaman Wantanam died the "sun was large and red with the blood of the shaman"; it was "hot" and "angry" because a shaman had died.

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SORCERY

The Tapirapé tell of great battles between strong shamans, each supported by his own retinue of powers. During my stay with the Tapirapé there were rumors of a possible combat between Urukumu and Panteri, the two strongest shamans. Many people believed that it would be caused by the death of a warm personal friend of Panteri through the suspected sorcery by Urukumu. One man even described how he thought that the combat would take place. "Panteri will smoke much tobacco (10) and then he will go to his hammock to sleep. He will go [in his dream] in his "canoe" to the top of a high mountain. From there he will look about until he sees [the soul of] Urukumu. From there Panteri will throw his *ankungitána* (11); will wrap itself around [the soul of] Urukumu, carrying him off into the sky". Now the various familiar powers of both shamans hasten to their aid; it was at this point that the narrator, visualizing the possible battle of powers, listed the powers that would come to the aid of each shaman. A shaman whose soul has thus been captured by another falls prey to chills and fevers and soon dies, with his last breath whispering in song that he leaves the earth and possibly even telling gaspingly the name of the shaman who caused his death. Both shamans involved in the rumored combat denied knowledge or intention to wage it.

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As might be expected, the same methods said to be used by shamans against one another may also be used against the layman. Shamans are believed to steal souls that are wandering in dream journeys. The shaman may send his *ankungitána* to strike the soul of his victim over

(10) See page 72 for the use of tobacco in cures, as stimulants, to induce dreams, and for shamanistic ceremonies.

(11) The *ankungitána* is a ceremonial headdress made of three or four long tail feathers of a parrot and worn by the Tapirapé down the back tied to the short "pig tail" headdress (See Fig. 1 on page 41).

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"aw topi" and were struck down as the young shaman had been earlier that day. One shaman novice, staggering blindly and vomiting violently, tried to break away from the young men who were partially supporting him. When they caught him, he fell immediately to the ground. Finally, toward sundown, Panteri took up his song again. He still was "stronger than topi" and was able to perform his song without falling into a trance. 147
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At sundown men began to gather in the house which had been cleared. Some twenty men came to take part in this phase of the ceremonies. The bulk of the village population was gathered inside the house, crouched close against the walls, or outside looking through the doors. 276
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The two powerful shamans, Urukumu and Panteri, stood in the middle of the floor facing each other. They lighted their long pipes and began to swallow smoke. At the back of the room were two young men with the ceremonial rattles that the shamans had used earlier. These young men were in positions of particular danger, for their rattles attracted the special attention of Thunder's creatures. In front of them Ikorwantori, a young man noted for his singing, stood on a bench and began to sing the songs of Thunder; they played accompaniment for his songs on the rattles. A young boy sat behind them and beat time to the song with a hollow trunk of bamboo. Now and again young men standing against the walls took up a chorus with the solo singer. The shamans kept going to the young men with the rattles, offering them smoke to swallow from their pipes until they were unsteady on their feet. At times they were able to stay up on their feet only when they were held up. They then began walking back and forth to the front of the house, shaking the rattles towards the roof threateningly, challenging topi and pančé-lünwera to come. [534]

Shamans now offered their pipes to their novices and to laymen. The two shamans also soon began walking back and forth the length of the house, first alone and then each taking a novice with him. One by one men joined the shamans as they moved up and down the house. By now all were thoroughly intoxicated and the atmosphere grew tense. All spewed out smoke until it fairly engulfed them as they moved vomiting and reeling about. Everyone took up a grunting chant of "Hew, hew!" Some carried mirrors and red parrot feathers as weapons against the topi. The two chief shamans carried machetes 276
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ceremonial rattles which had fallen to the ground and running with them around the whole circuit of the village. 796

The third and fourth days of the ceremony followed closely the pattern of this day, but there were some important variations. On the last two days a new danger was added, accounting for more violent seizures that occurred then. During these days each man making the ceremonial circuit wore an elaborate headdress — the *ankungitana*. This headdress enfurates Thunder and attracts his creatures to the wearer (30). Without exception all who wore the headdress, even Panteri and Urukumu, fell unconscious before the forces of Thunder and genuine fear was shown by all those who wore it. 293 ● 796 786

Before a man could put the headdress on his head, a phaman waved it slowly before his eyes. The shaman then placed the headdress on his head, blowing smoke through the feathers to take out some of the terrific "heat." When Urukumu wore the *ankungitana*, he began to weave and stumble before he left the first house of the circle. He then had to be led and supported by two young men. Before he had completed one circle of the village, he was seized by a trance that seemed even more violent than that of the younger men. His body was rigid and he was carried through the remaining circle of houses to the house at the southwest where he was treated by Panteri. Panteri likewise was defeated and fell when he wore the headdress. During his trance he sang snatches of a song and when he regained consciousness he said he had traveled to the house of Thunder. Later, Panteri related to me his experiences during his trance. His story, freely translated, was this: "I ate much smoke and then smoked again. I sang. I saw one large sun; it came toward me and disappeared. I saw many small suns. They approached and left. I saw Thunder. It was small and came in a small canoe. It was Thunder's child (a *topi*). It wore a small headdress of red parrot feathers. It had a small lip plug. I reached to pull out the lip plug (thus he would have vanquished the *topi*) but it left the house. Then all was dark. (He had not defeated the *topi* and it had consequently shot him with his arrow) I saw many suns. I traveled, singing as I walked. I walked three days and I climbed a large mountain on the 787 796

(30) Red parrot feathers are "hot like fire", say the Tapirapé; the sun is hot because he wears a large headdress of red feathers. This heat always attracts the supernatural. Tapirapé told me that an attack of malaria I had was caused by my having left a headdress of red parrot feathers hanging openly in my house. [821] [825] [753]

133 and our camarada [Tr., guide or hired hand], as well as several
487 Indians, and we set out again after a brief rest.

Two hours later we crossed another body of water surrounded by trees. Since Reverend Kegel was taken with leg cramps and also had to vomit several times because he had drunk water too quickly, we stayed there for about two hours.

Then we set out again in a long file, one behind the other. The sun burned down, but fortunately there was a breeze from time to time. To make their return journey easier, the Indians set fire to all the grass they found. Suddenly, in an unburned patch of grassland, we saw a pair of spotted jaguars engaged in amorous play. My camarada Daniel shot at them with his gun. Both animals ran away, one of them bleeding. Daniel with the gun and two Indians with bow and club vainly ran after them. The two Tapirapé dogs who were with us behaved in rather sorry fashion. One of them jumped about a little and barked, while the other did not even find courage for that.

Two hours later we reached Lake Tucunaré, where we found numerous mosquitoes. It took us three or four hours to go from there to Porto Salvação, along an old Indian trail on very hard and hot ground.

[97:53] It took us, therefore, 13 or 14 hours to return from the village to the river, and this was more or less the time we spent walking on the way out.

Names of the River and its Tributaries

[Ed., one paragraph omitted.]

103 The Tapirapé Indians call the Tapirapé River aviohy (or aviuhy), which means "fluff water," hy being "water." They are very fond of the fluff of the jabiru, duck, and vulture for body ornamentation, and they find it chiefly on this river. [Ed., the remainder of the section in Vol. 97, pp. 53-54, is omitted.]

29/ (cf. Photos. 5, 25, 69). This may corroborate the conjecture of
 [114] the evolutionist Von den Steinen (2, 192) that the waist cord for-
 [174] merly had the function of the penis sheath. Among present-day
 [482] Tapirapé this cord may be regarded, along with the tembetá, as
 [412] a prerogative of the males. It is rarely used to carry [105:88]
 things. Occasionally they will hang a comb from it, or in recent
 times a pair of scissors as well.

114 Dr. Charles Wagley told me that in 1939 he found straps for
 854 carrying children that were worn by the Tapirapé women over the
 177 shoulder and across the chest. In 1937, Dominican missionaries
 had gone up the Tapirapé River with large quantities of fabrics.
 The straps were made of those fabrics. It is interesting to note
 that in 1935 there were no such objects in existence. It is inter-
 esting because it would have been possible to carry the children
 in small hammocks. Furthermore, I had given away many pieces
 of cloth which could have been used as straps for carrying children.
 [171] Such straps not only are used by the neighboring Kayapó (Krause,
 2, 394) but are also a typical cultural trait of the Tupí Indians.
 [Ed., two sentences are omitted.] It is worth noting, however,
 that straps for carrying children are not used by the eastern neigh-
 bors of the Tapirapé, that is to say, the Karajá (Krause 2, 276
 and Plates 12, 37, and 47).

In the case of the Tapirapé, it was apparently the numerous
 pieces of fabric brought by the Dominicans in 1937 that played a
 decisive role in the introduction of straps for carrying children. In
 291 1935, all the fabric and cloth articles coming from our factories
 177 had a merely decorative function among those Indians. The men
 [562] alone used them, since most adornments are prerogatives of their
 [301] sex and such impressive ornaments as those made of feathers and
 claws are worn only by them. Kamairahó, the most important
 chief, liked best of all to wear a red dress which his wife had re-
 ceived as a gift. Thus, the aim the giver had in mind, probably
 inspired by catechizing hopes, was missed entirely for the lady
 remained altogether naked while her husband was covered down to
 177 the knees and below. It is worth noting, however, that in the even-
 29/ ing, when Kamairahó retired, he would undress and carefully fold
 513 the garment. Thus, at an hour when every protection against the
 mosquitoes and the cold would have seemed to me exceedingly

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291 welcome, this important man lay in his small hammock without
[513] the slightest intention of hiding his skin, which was occasionally
illuminated by the wavering flames.

[105:89] The same was true with regard to all other clothing
of similar provenience. Kamairahó also possessed a large piece of
fabric which he used as a sort of cloak, but only during the day and
not as frequently as the dress. Vuatanamy, another influential
leader, wrapped himself during the hottest hours of the day in a
heavy poncho, which was of such good quality that I tried to find
out the name of the person who had given out such presents (cf.
Photo. 58). Then the evil tongues told me that this Gaucho gar-
ment had belonged to a missionary, who lost it unwittingly with
the full cooperation of Vuatanamy. The former owner may derive
some consolation from the fact that his unintended beneficiary con-
tinued to sleep naked through mosquito bites and cold spells.

The shirts, vests, and trousers that I gave to some of the young
men were also restricted to daytime use. The enthusiasm for this
kind of ornament lasted only a few days. Then the law of the
least effort prevailed, and the pieces were put away in a corner
of the house. Incidentally, of all my gifts, the vests were the
least valued. Their new owners noted signs of wear with obvious
displeasure, and perhaps also felt that since the vests had no sleeves
they were mere fragments of jackets and thus scorned by the Whites.

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177 The aim of these Indians, however, was to be esteemed by the
Whites by conforming to their behavior. I do not mean to say that
this was the aim of every Tapirapé. There were some, however,
who made it quite clear. There was, for example, Kamairá, the
tallest and sturdiest man in Tapiitáua and a leader on certain
occasions. Kamairá sometimes liked to use a rather dirty rag as a
loincloth. This was the only loincloth I saw in the tribe, and its
[797] use was probably inspired by a desire to reach the ideal proclaimed
by some missionary with highly modest sentiments.

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291 Such propensities for adaptation, however, did not preclude
the use of ornaments furnished by us, even when such objects had
never appeared on our own bodies. Thus, Vuatanamy wore a
● 301 multicolored cap (cf. Photo. 68); Kamanané, the song leader,
liked to wear a piece of brightly colored cloth on his head; the
177 red and black cardboard wrapper of my soap contributed to the
301 mosaic of bird feathers that adorned a dance mask; and beads were

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301 the favorite ornament of both sexes, of adults as well as children (cf. Photos. 3, 4, 5, 8, and many others).

The Tapirapé showed the same love for those beads as did the 301 Karajá, wanting always the smallest and whitest ones (cf. Photo. [171] 2) and showing intense dislike for those of other colors and those made of clear [105:90] glass. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

Among the Tapirapé, the beads I saw were used merely as necklaces. It is true that these Indians are also very fond of decking [855] out their children in these ornaments, and the larger the number of beads at the neck of a girl, the more beautiful she seems in everyone's eyes. People often borrow beads from each other to enhance this sort of beauty, and not only do married couples use their beads in turn, but this is also done between parents and children and between friends belonging to different families.

[674] Beads were the object of the only theft between two Tapirapé committed during my stay at Tampititua. When Maeyuth was deserted by his wife and hung his hammock next to that of Taipá, a matronly widow, she appeared on the following morning with beads around her neck. [Ed., the last sentence, which concludes the section in Vol. 105, is omitted; there is no section in Vol. 106.]

902 [107:107] Tapirapé of both sexes usually wear their hair cut straight across the forehead just above the eyes, so that it cannot fall across the face (Photos. 3 and 28). They do allow it to grow on the sides and in the back, however. Some of the men, women, and children sometimes part their hair anywhere on the forehead, thus partly baring it (Photos. 59, 61, and 63). The hair reaches shoulder length in the back, and this occurs more frequently among the women than among the men (Photos. 4, 67, and 69). The latter sometimes hold it with a strip of inner bark tied around the head (Photos. 4 and 5) or gather it into a pigtail (Photos. 1, 4, and 7), while the women and children always wear it loose. The hair of some boys seems to have been cut at several lengths (Photos. 2 and 8), as described by Krause (2, 209 and Fig. 37) for Karajá boys. It may be said that, as a rule, there are many similarities between Tapirapé and Karajá hair styles. In both tribes also, the hair of boys [852] is cut all over to half a centimeter when they are about ten years old, except for a narrow strip of hair three centimeters long that surrounds the head like a crown (cf. Krause, ibid. and Plate 43, Fig. 2).

302 set forth by ethnocentric Europeans. Among the precautionary
 749 measures taken by the killer of the Tapirapé shaman, listed by
 Wagley (4, 16-17 [Tr., in English at 4, 72]), there is also
 painting the entire body with genipap and the hair with urucú. Ac-
 cording to the same author (*ibid.*, 11 [Tr., in English at 4, 67]),
 a certain Tapirapé medicine man painted his chest and chin with
 urucú to represent the cauf of blood that drools from the mouth of
 forest spirits. [Ed., the remainder of p. 127, p. 128, and all but
 the last paragraph of p. 129 are omitted.]

000 [108:129] Krause (2, 214) writes that the Karajá, when they
 paint their bodies, usually reserve the color red for men and
 adolescent boys, and the black for boys and young girls. He adds
 (*ibid.*), "Only once did I see a woman painted wholly with red."
 I wish [108:130] to note in this connection, however, that as far as
 our trading fabrics are concerned, the Karajá in 1935 left the red ones
 exclusively to the women, while the men dressed in those of other
 colors, such as white or green. They might already have learned
 from the Whites that men do not wear red. A person like the
 [291] Tapirapé Kamairahô, who had had less contact with so-called
 civilized people than the Karajá, hid his charms at that time un-
 der a woman's dress which had originally been red and which
 might be said to have remained red in spite of daily wear for weeks
 on end.

101 In view of the facts noted by Krause (*ibid.*, 386) about the
 171 northern Kayapó and by Von den Steinen (2, 184-188) about the
 302 Indians of the upper Xingu basin, it may be said in summary that
 the Tapirapé are quite sharply differentiated from their neighbors
 in facial and body painting, although certain similarities exist
 with the Karajá in torso painting, and with the Kayapó and Xingu
 Indians in the red "stockings." It is worth noting that such "stock-
 ings" were also used by the Tupinambá.

• 301 According to what I saw, the Tapirapé stick soft plumage
 237 (avúá, avúá) chiefly on the arms and legs of children. The girl
 Ampirânia was often adorned in this way. Grownups, however,
 also use white down glued on the arm when wearing a certain
 [301] mask (Photo. 76). At the initiation ceremony, the adolescent has
 white down glued on the forehead, arms, torso, and thighs, with
 the exception of the buttocks. The glue is a resin (ykyryva in

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301 Tapirapé) used by both sexes to anoint the body and hair. Once
237 crushed, it is mixed with peanut oil (chany). [Ed., the last two
[34] paragraphs of p. 130 and all but the last paragraph of p. 131 are
[36] omitted.]

[108:131] Larger feather ornaments are used by the Tapirapé,
as a rule, only on festive occasions. The Tapirapé Kanchovanf,
however, when I invited him to come with me to the Araguaia,
showed me the large red macaw feathers that he intended to wear
on his head upon reaching the Karajá villages. These are the
[171] feathers prized most highly both in his own tribe and among the
shore dwellers of the big river. I never saw any Tapirapé use them
aside from such occasions. [Ed., the remainder of p. 131 and the
first half of p. 132 are omitted.]

- 292 [108:132] The circular feather headdress is of the greatest
796 importance to the Tapirapé. Referring to its use in the Thunder
ceremony, Wagley writes (4, 33-34 [Tr., in English at 4, 89-90]):
"... each man making the ceremonial circuit wore an elaborate

[776] headdress--the ankungitána. This headdress enfurates Thunder and
attracts his creatures to the wearer. Without exception all who
292 wore the ankungitána, even Panterf and Urukumf, showed genuine
781 fear and fell unconscious before the forces of Thunder. Before a
man could put the headdress on, a shaman waved it slowly before
his eyes. The shaman then placed the headdress on his head,

[756] blowing smoke through the feathers to take out some of the terrific
'heat.' When Urukumf wore the ankungitána, he began to weave
and stumble before he left the first house of the circle. He then
had to be led and supported by two young men. Before he had
completed one circuit of the village, he was seized by a trance
that seemed even more violent than that of the younger men. His
body was rigid, and he was carried through the remaining circle
of houses to the house at the southwest where he was treated by
Panterf. Panterf likewise was defeated and fell when he wore the
headdress. During his trance he sang snatches of a song, and when
he regained consciousness he said he had traveled to the house of
787 Thunder. Later, Panterf [108:133] related to me his experiences
776 during his trance. His story, freely translated, was this: 'I ate
much smoke and then smoked again. I sang, I saw one large sun;
it came toward me and disappeared. I saw many small suns. They

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[177] of wood, plaited and woven material found by Von den Steinen (2, Figs. 94-118) among the Xingu tribes.

301 The cylindrical masks of the Tapirapé are also adorned with feathers (Photo. 72). In the daytime dances of these Indians, some of the male participants wear one or several red macaw tail feathers vertically on the occiput (Photo. 5). On such occasions they also wore the ear ornament (Photo. 21), which I acquired in Tamptitáua and which I shall now describe. Two strings, twisted [283] counter-clockwise and consisting of two threads spun clockwise, are tied to a cotton cord twisted clockwise and consisting of two strings twisted counter-clockwise and made up in turn of two threads spun clockwise. The first two strings mentioned are each folded in the middle and placed on the rope in such a way that on one side there is a loop, and on the other the two free-swinging ends. These ends are slipped through the loop and stretched to make a knot. Each end, after being slipped through a perforated palm nut, [237] is attached to three or four tail feathers of the green oropendola (*Ostinops viridis*), which are yellow with black spots and up to nine centimeters long. The feathers are tied by the lower, denuded part of the stem, which is folded up at the tip for the purpose. When the cord is worn across the forehead and tied on the occiput, the [386] feathers fall over the ears. All the threads are dyed with genipap. [Ed., the last two lines of p. 136 and the first paragraph of p. 137 are omitted.]

301 [108:137] According to Reverend Kegel, the Tapirapé adolescent at the initiation ceremony wears around his neck two cotton 981 strips, three centimeters wide, which hang down in front to below the knees and in the back to below the calves. These strips end in tassels, and under the tassel is a palm-nut shell, its opening facing downward, surrounded with small breast feathers of the red macaw. On each arm the boy wears a cotton cord from which hang five of these shells with the same little red feathers.

171 To summarize: the Tapirapé feather ornaments are not only 301 distinct from those of the Karajá, Javahé, and Kayapó visited by Krause (2, passim), from those of the inhabitants of the upper Xingu basin (Von den Steinen 2, 328), the Bororo (Colbacchini and Albisetti, passim), the Tupá tribe of the Urubu (Lopes 2, passim), and the Tupinambá (Métaisux 2, 130-148), but also much less numerous and varied than the featherwork in any of these tribes.

171 This scarcity may be one of the consequences of the great epi-
 301 demics, since the dead are buried with all their feather ornaments.
 [182] In addition, the Tapirapé, as cultivators and forest Indians, have
 [764] fewer opportunities to obtain the raw materials for these ornaments
 than the more game-oriented tribes who live close to rivers and to
 other areas rich in bird life.

415 Like the ancient Tupinambá (Léry 159), the Tapirapé keep
 the large macaw feathers in internodes of thick cane (yuanantú).
 [Ed., the last sentence on p. 137, which concludes the section
 in Vol. 108, is omitted.]

237 [109:75] I found a single specimen of a crown of jaguar claws
 292 in Tampiitáua (Photo. 16). It belonged to Maninohó, who used
 it only for certain daytime dances (Photo. 4). Its name was sim-
 ply chauvuanohó pyampé, "jaguar claw." It consisted of a wooden
 ring that reached one centimeter in width and 20 centimeters in
 diameter, wrapped in cotton thread blackened with genipap and
 charcoal. Not only does this thread keep the ring closed, but it
 also holds 14 jaguar claws, all of which are set pointing in the
 same direction. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

301 The use of flowers as a head ornament is unusual among South
 American Indians. I observed it only once in Tampiitáua. Iravuy,
 a married man 26 years old, returned once from the forest with a
 bunch of flowers in his hand. On entering the village, he met
 Ampitânia on the path and gave her the flowers. This girl, who
 was four or five years old, immediately tied them to her hair.
 [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

304 Male Tapirapé have pierced ears. I was told that among them
 it is the mother who [109:76] makes these perforations in the early
 hours of the day following the birth of her child. She does this
 with the bone needle used in the manufacture of the cotton orna-
 ments called tamankurá. Small pieces of tucum wood [Tr.,
 301 Bactris setosa] or thin cane are placed in the holes, and for initiates
 891 these pieces may reach two centimeters in length. [Ed., the re-
 mainder of the paragraph and the following paragraph are omitted.]

171 To summarize, it may be said that as far as ear ornaments and
 301 their attendant cultural traits are concerned, the Tapirapé differ
 considerably not only from all their neighbors about whom anything
 is known in this connection, but from the ancient Tupinambá as
 well.

304 Like the ear perforation, that of the lower lip is restricted to members of the male sex among the inhabitants of Tampiitáua.

[412] According to them, it is also made by the mother with a bone needle on the morning following the birth of her child. The

• 301 Tapirapé do not have a generic name for the objects inserted into the artificial lip opening, which vary with the age of the wearer.

237 When they want to refer to a lip ornament without specifying which one, they merely say emekuana (emeguana, temekuana), or emekuanf if a small boy is concerned. Emé means "lower lip" (cheremé, "my lower lip"), kuana means "hole," and i is a diminutive (kuanf, "little hole"). The opening in a child's lip is indeed much smaller than in that of an adult such as Kamairá (Photo. 57). They insert a bone there until the time when the boy who is about to be initiated has his hair cut, and this bone grows along with its wearer (Photos. 3, 6, 25, 28, 61). Thus, a boy who was about five years old wore a wild-pig bone nine and a half centimeters long and from two to four millimeters wide, with a crosspiece about eight millimeters wide (Photo. 18). A boy of eight or ten had a deer bone 25 centimeters long and three to five [109:77] in diameter, with a crosspiece one centimeter wide (Photo. 17). Rhea bones were also used as boys' lip ornaments. The bone is introduced from the inside, so that the crosspiece remains inside the mouth to secure the ornament.

[302] When a boy's hair is cut, a year before his initiation ceremony, the deer bone is replaced with the wooden plug worn by [381] the men (Photo. 19a). Some of those plugs contain the embedded tooth of a tapiti (Sylvilagus minensis, tampichf in Tapirapé) (Photo. 55). The plug with a tooth shown in Photograph 19a is about eight to ten millimeters in diameter and six millimeters along its full length, or in other words, four millimeters in the wooden section and two millimeters in the projecting part of the tooth. The piece that secures the plug is two centimeters wide.

[324] The plugs are made with the pointed excrescences found on the trunks of a tree called tanchimoyva in Tapirapé. The one reproduced here (Photo. 19b) is 25 millimeters long and from 15 to 25 millimeters wide.

301 At the initiation ceremony, however, and only on that great day, the boy wears an ornament that would qualify for the Tupi name tembetá, from tembé, "lower lip," and itá, "stone." This [381]

301 word is usually given to all the hard, stiff objects worn by Brazilian
324 Indians in the artificial lower-lip hole, except for the botoque which
differs from the tembetá in shape and size (cf. Baldus and Willems
33-34 and 218). [Fig. 7 appears here.] It is true that the Tapirapé
[192] are unfamiliar with this word and speak only of itachinga, "white
stone," when they point at this quartz ornament. I was told by
[135] them that the raw material is found "in large quantities" in a
stream they call Tochypia, which flows several days' journey
northwest of Tampiitáua, near Moytáua, the Tapirapé village
abandoned in 1932. The specimen I saw (Fig. 7) measured nine
and a half centimeters along its full length and four and a half
centimeters around the slender part, while the thick part was ten
and a half centimeters all around and three and a half centimeters
in diameter. It was the only specimen extant in Tampiitáua, and
Kamairahó, in whose possession it was, did not want to let me have
it at any price. This shows the importance of this ornament in the
life of the tribe. Since the tembetá was no longer complete,
I asked the Indian Kanió to show me how it was worn. It became



Fig. 7. Ceremonial quartz tembetá.

evident that the thicker part remains outside the mouth, for Kanió
coated the other end with wax and introduced it into the lip hole
(Photo. 2).

171 In Chapter 4 I mentioned the notices of João Manuel de Menezes,
301 Aristides de Souza Spinola, Fritz Krause, and Wilhelm Kissenberth
concerning the existence of Tapirapé tembetá among the [109:78]
Karajá. The specimen acquired by Kissenberth (2, 72 and Fig. 15)
from these Indians, which he reproduces in its actual size, has al-
most the same length as the fragment I saw in Tampiitáua, that is to
say, 8.6 centimeters, and it too is incomplete. The difference,
however, lies in the fact that the broadened, convex, plug-shaped
end is missing, rather than the securing piece. The latter has the
shape of a T, that is to say, it is a crosspiece like those on the

17/ bone ornaments mentioned above. Its width is 27 millimeters.
 301 The thin part of the tembetá is 14 millimeters wide at the point where it begins to swell to form the crosspiece.

Ehrenreich (1, 10-11 and Fig. 2a), in his monograph on the Karajá, reproduces a complete specimen and makes the following remarks: "The most precious lip ornament, which is only worn on festive occasions and which is carefully kept at other times wrapped in cotton, is a long and heavy tembetá (manutere) of rosy hyalite or quartz whose T-shaped tip is introduced into the lower lip, while the conical plug hangs underneath. The largest of the [439] Karajá do not make these lip stones but trade for them from the Tapirapé. The elevations on the left bank of the river (Araguaia), such as the Caiapó Range, abound in this material."

The specimen reproduced by Krause (2, Fig. 62) resembles the one just mentioned. The author notes in this connection (*ibid.*, 223-224): "Unmarried men alone use these tembetás, which they wear only at special festivities. When they marry, they present them to a young kinsman. The stone tembetá is very thick, and [304] requires previous enlargement of the lip opening. To achieve this, the Indians wear increasingly thick wooden tembetá. I saw a single specimen of a stone tembetá among the northern band. I was unable to acquire it. It was only long after leaving their village that I heard of a specimen extant among the southern band.

[439] These tembetás are not made by the Karajá but by the Tapirapé, from whom the Karajá of the northern band trade for them. The people of the southern band, in turn, purchase them from the latter. They say that the current price is a dugout, an axe, a pot, and a bush knife, in short, it is very high..." [Ed., the last two paragraphs on p. 78 and the first two paragraphs on p. 79 are omitted.]

[109:79] The same author [Métraux] states (2, 167-168): "Among the present-day Tupi-Guarani, the Tapirapé alone have tembetás comparable in shape and material to those of the Tupinambá." [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

To summarize, the manufacture of quartz tembetá is a Tapirapé culture trait. We know of no such trait among other present-day Tupi cultures or among tribes neighboring the Tapirapé, with the exception of the northern Kayapó. Their stone tembetá,

171 however, differ from those of the Tapirapé in lacking a "plug."
 301 I know of no such "plugs" on the stone lip cylinders of the ancient
 Tupinambá. Those found on the São Paulo coast and in the vicinity
 of Bahia, reproduced by H. von Ihering (apud Wegner 3, 34, Fig.
 5), do not have any. [Ed., the last paragraph on p. 79, p. 80,
 and the first two paragraphs on p. 81 are omitted.]

[109:81] To summarize, it may be said that among the
 Tapirapé, just as among the Tupinambá, Karajá, and Kayapó, the
tembetá is an exclusively male ornament that varies in its shape
 and material according to the age of the wearer. The Tapirapé
 differ from the Tupinambá in that adults do not have the coin-
 shaped stone tembetá mentioned by Léry. As far as material,
 shape, and size are concerned, the differences between the
 Tapirapé, Karajá, and Kayapó tembetá are, on the whole, greater
 than the resemblances. The Central Tupi differ from the Tapirapé
 in not having any lip ornaments.

The arm and leg ornaments made of cotton dyed with urucú
 are a striking link between the Tapirapé and Karajá cultures. They
 are everyday ornaments worn by both sexes. Among the Karajá,
 according to [109:82] Krause (2, 226), they are "the distinctive
 badge of unmarried men, therefore used from earliest childhood
 until marriage, and in widowhood." The same author (*ibid.*) adds,
 however, that these bands may also be used by married men "if
 their wives are pleased with them."

Among the Tapirapé, I saw married men wearing the cotton
 ornaments called tamankurá in their language. This name covers
 three different kinds, namely, the bracelet, the garter, and the
 [462] ankle band. They are all made by the women with the crochet
 [412] needle (chuúnia, chu meaning "thorn"), which was originally made
 [439] of bone and today, as a result of White imports, may also be of
 metal. Among the Karajá, this is also woman's work (cf. *ibid.*).

The bracelets (dexí in Karajá) are cylinders with reinforced,
 outcurving edges. Each of the two bracelets that had been worn
 by a Tapirapé man and are reproduced in Photograph 14b is 14
 centimeters long, 19 centimeters in circumference at the upper
 end, and 17 at the lower end, while the upper edge is four centi-
 meters wide and the lower one two and a half centimeters wide.
 The initial phase of their manufacture is shown in Photograph 11.

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I saw few of them in Tampiitáua, and those extant were worn exclusively by youths who had already been initiated (Photos. 10 and 70). Among the Karajá, however, these objects are also worn on the forearms of young girls and children (Krause, ibid., Plates 16, 18, 45, Fig. 3).

The garters (deobuté in Karajá, according to Krause, ibid.) are strips with reinforced edges and tassels hanging down the front. Indian women close them with crochet stitches directly on the leg, that is to say, just below the knee. Each of the garters in the pair reproduced in Photograph 14a, which had been used by a Tapirapé man, is two and a half centimeters wide and 25 centimeters in circumference, while the tassels are 12 centimeters long. A pair of garters belonging to a little girl had the same width, and its tassels were 20 centimeters long. Among the Tapirapé, the garters are worn by girls before puberty (Photos. 3 and 9), by boys (Photos. 28, 53, 61, and 69) and by adult males (Photos. 7, 8, 25, 26, 28, 61, and 68). The same applies to the Karajá (cf. Krause 2, Plates 11, 15, 16, 36, 38, 43, and 45). According to Krause (ibid., 226 and Plate 44), they frequently tie up the tassels in the back to prevent them from being an encumbrance while running and on long walks. Sometimes, among the Tapirapé, these tassels are merely cut off (Photo. 39).

Only a few little girls in Tampiitáua wore tamankurá at the ankles while I was there (Photos. 3, 9, 12). This ornament is a cylinder with a reinforced and outcurving lower edge and fringes as long as the tamankurá itself hanging from the upper edge. One specimen was 12 centimeters long, 19 centimeters in circumference at the upper end and 16 at the lower end, while the lower edge was four centimeters wide. I was told that certain social and spiritual leaders such as Kamairahó, Vuatanamy, and Urukumy had also worn similar ornaments before puberty. Among the Karajá, I saw boys as well as girls with bands at the ankles. These were distinct, however, from the corresponding tamankurá of Tapirapé girls in that they did not have an outcurving edge (cf. Krause 2, Fig. 44 and Plates 16 and 45). Their Karajá name is walaú (ibid., 226).

[109:83] According to Krause (ibid., 227), the Karajá begin to use leg bands right after birth, and cut them off and replace

171) them as they become too tight. The same is done by the Tapirapé.
 301 I even found in Tampiitáua a forked stick which was used as a
 frame to make tamankurá for the ankles of children yet to be
 born (Photo. 13). This fork holds one unfinished tamankurá and a
 finished one which is four centimeters long with an edge two centi-
 meters wide. [Ed., the remainder of p. 83, pp. 84-86, and all
 but the last paragraph of p. 87 are omitted. Pages 84, 85, 86,
 and 87 contain comparative data from the Tupinambá and other
 tribes on wrist and leg ornaments.]

[109:87] To summarize: one of the chief resemblances be-
 tween the Tapirapé, Karajá, and Javahé cultures resides in the
tamankurá complex, and differences among the three cultures
 in this area are insignificant. Kayapó culture, as described by
 Krause, differs from these cultures in [109:88] the absence of this
 complex, which left only a few traces upon it. According to the
 data mentioned above, certain elements of the complex distin-
 guish the culture of the Tapirapé from that of other Tupi Indians,
 as well as from that of the Xingu Indians, while other elements
 reveal similarities among all these cultures. Although such simi-
 larities do not prove that this complex or any part of it originated
 among the Tupi Indians, they do not permit the formulation of the
 opposite hypothesis either. It is probable that the garter should
 be regarded as a trait of cultural relationship between the Tapirapé,
 the northern Tupinambá, and other Tupi Indians. Among certain
 Tupi tribes (Tapirapé, Yuruna), the cotton leg ornaments differ
 from those of certain Gê tribes in that they are made with a
 crochet needle instead of being woven. It will be the task of future
 research to determine whether this is the case among so many
 tribes in both families that it may serve as a general differentiating
 factor between the Tupi and the Gê peoples. [Ed., end of Vol.
 109.]

[110:191]

Chapter 7

The Village and the Houses

[961] At the time of my visit, Tampiitaua was located in the cen-
 351 ter of a large clearing. Around each house (avuyra in Tapirapé)

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[184] respected by the latter through abstentions to which they submit for the child's sake over a long period of time, and not only when the child is sick. The period of physical contact also lasts longer than among us. Although the statement of Father Vicente de Salvador (37), according to which certain Tupinambá mothers nursed their children "seven or eight years" is exaggerated, we may assume that the same thing occurred among those Tupi as we observed among the Tapirapé and numerous other Brazilian tribes, that is to say, a child who already plays and runs about with other children without adult supervision and who still nurses at his mother's breast. According to Lipkind (2, 187), Karajá children sleep with their mother until they stop nursing. In Tampiitaua, I found one boy and one girl, each a year old, two girls of three years, and one girl of four years who slept with both parents in the same net in 1935, and two girls of one year who did so in 1947. In 1935, I found one girl of a few months, one girl of less than a year, one girl a little over a year, and one boy of three who slept with their mother, and in 1947 I found one boy of one year, one boy of two, and one boy of four who did the same. I found one girl and one boy of four and one girl of six who slept with their father in 1935 (the mother slept in an adjoining hammock with a smaller child) and one boy of two who did so in 1947. In that same year, a girl of about 10 slept with her father, a man of 35, while his wife, about seven months pregnant, who was not the girl's mother, slept in the next hammock. And in 1935, a boy of six slept with his mother's older sister while the mother slept in another house with her husband, who was not the boy's father.

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854 The Tapirapé adorn the children with special care. I showed in Chapter 6 (Photo. 13) how even before the birth they make tamankurá for a child's ankles. When he is born, they proceed to adorn him with the traditional ornaments of the tribe, [127:233] and in addition they hang beads obtained from the Whites around his neck. Like everything else they may give him, these beads are [422] acknowledged henceforth as the child's property. A museum collector may sometimes have difficulty obtaining an object owned exclusively by a child not yet old enough to understand his wish.

854 I was moved when I saw a Tapirapé mother attempt to protect her weeks-old baby against the strong noon sun while crossing the village plaza. She held it close against her abdomen and ran bent

Photo. 3



Mareromyó (No. 2) with the women's body painting, boys with tembetá and girls with tamankurá.

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Photo. 4

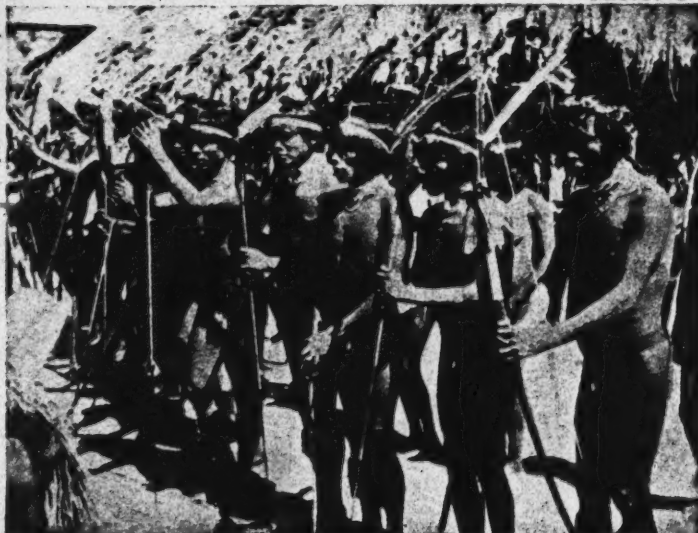


Maninohó (No. 111), Kaunevaivynhó (No. 3), Techipy (No. 51), Inamoreo (No. 23). The woman is Tora-Maneaiá (No. 100).

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Photo. 5



The dancers of Photo. 4, with Pancheví (No. 75) and Manupauvynghoi (No. 13) to the right of Inamoreo (No. 23).

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Photo. 6



Manavangkó (No. 87) with a bone tembetá. Auayauf (No. 93) is on his left.

Photo. 7

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Woman painting her husband. The structure in the background is a summer dwelling. (Photo. Father Pedro Secondy, O.P.)

Photo. 8

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Woman anointing her husband's foot with urucú. (Photo. Father Pedro Secondy, O.P.)

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Photo. 9



Kanuana (No. 6), painted with urucu, with
girl's tamankurá at the ankles.

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Photo. 10



Tamankurá on the forearms of a youth.

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Photo. 12



Putting the tamankurá on the girl's ankle. (Photo.
Father Pedro Secondy, O.P.)

Photo. 11



The initial phase in the making of tamankurá
(Photo. Father Pedro Secondy, O.P.)

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Photo. 14a



Garter tamankurá.

Photo. 13



Tamankurá for a
child as yet unborn.

Photo. 14b



Forearm tamankurá.

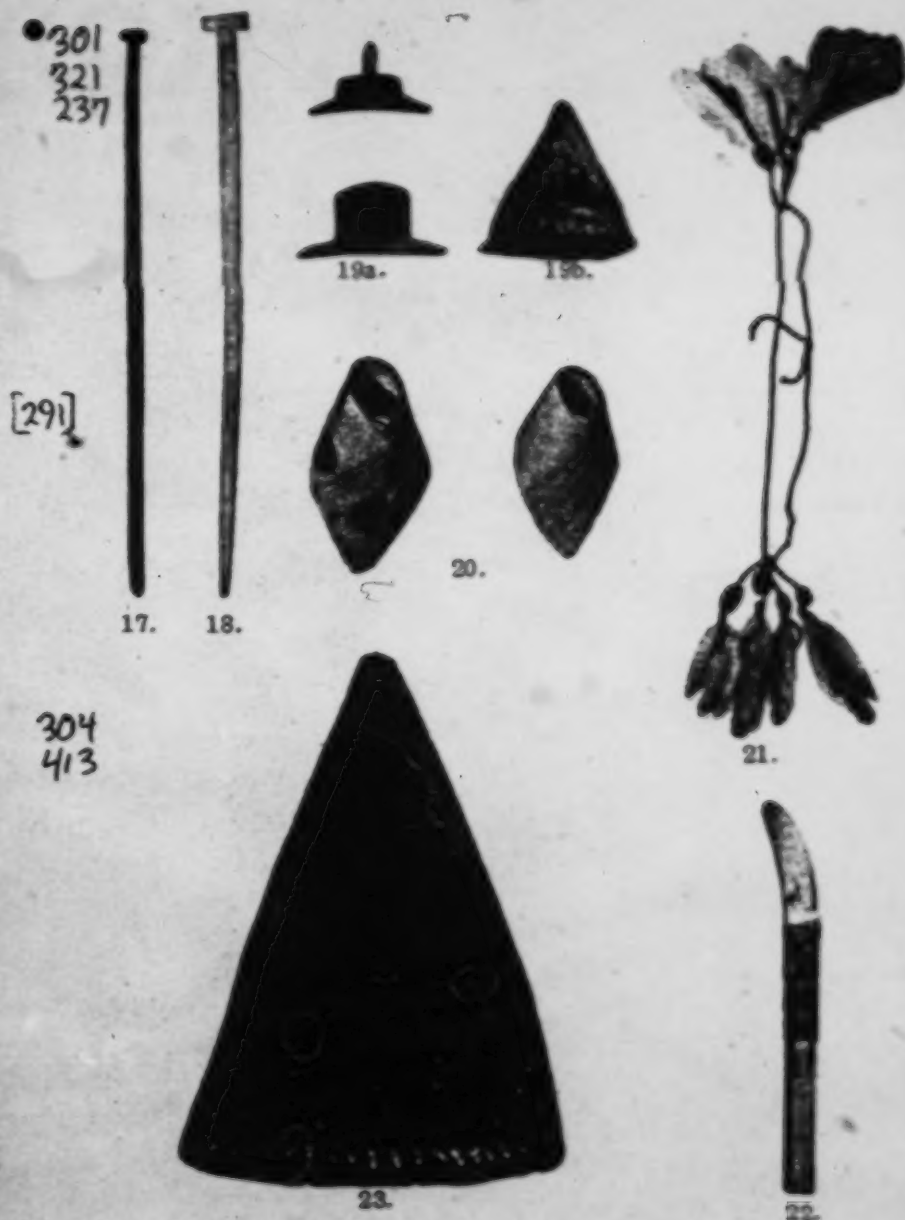


Photo. 17. Tembets of deer bone. -- 18. Tembets of wild-pig bone. -- 19a. Wooden tembets. -- 19b. Raw material for wooden tembets. -- 20. Penis sheaths. -- 21. Ear ornament. -- 22. Small tattooing knife. -- 23. Scarifier.

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Fig. 2

Um jovem pagé, em estado de transe, quando realizava o circuito da aldeia durante a sessão diversa da cerimônia do Trovão. Está acompanhado por dois jovens prontos a segurá-lo, se ele cair.

A young shaman, in a trance state, as he makes the village circuit during the day session of the Thunder Ceremony. He is accompanied by two young men ready to catch him if he should fall.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943

SP22 Tapirape SP22

BOLETIM DO MUSEU NACIONAL — ANTHROPOLOGIA N. 3 — 15-8-1943 45



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Fig. 4

Outro jovem sorvete no momento, usando o pequeno ornamento cerimonial de cabeça. Também está dentro por engulir fumaça de tabaco, e próximo a um estado de transe. Como o da Fig. 3, está antes de alcançar a segunda cima do círculo.

Another young sorvete shaman wearing the dangerous ceremonial headpiece. He is ill too from swallowing tobacco smoke and near to a trance state. Like the other of Fig. 3 he fell before reaching second hour in the village circle.

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476 only by their respective owners. I do not know, however, whether
[622] the three groups we are discussing here are involved in the prepara-
[651] tion of the principal chief's garden.)

The antaiva of the Anantxi were the chief Tampantxiá and
[624] Vuiraf, and those of the Vuirantxiñi were the chief Kamairá and the
sorcerer--medicine man Marimobó.

476 In the old days, the boys of the tribe were divided into three
857 groups corresponding to the three work-groups of the men. They were
called Vuanankórá, Vuirantxiña, and Vuirantxiñof. The last one is
now extinct. The boys whose fathers are Tāñavé or Anantxi belong
[611] to the first one, and the sons of the Vuirantxiñi to the second one.
The third group also consisted in the past of boys whose fathers were
[181] Vuirantxiñi. They say that the adolescent enters his father's work-
group at his initiation and becomes a member of it for life.

The boys' groups accompany the three work-groups of the men in
[442] all their endeavors. The female sex does not belong to this institution,
for "the women and girls stay home when the men do collective work."

[98] They say that each apatxiñi group has its specific ornaments
for certain dances, but these are usually held at a time of year when I
was not with the Tapirapé. The Tāñavé wear three large red macaw
feathers hanging from the head onto the back. The Anantxi also wear
535 three large macaw feathers in the same fashion, but two are from the
237 blue and yellow macaw and only the middle one is red; in addition,
they wear on their arms the white breast fluff of the king vulture. The
Vuirantxiñi are not differentiated from the Tāñavé. The Vuanankórá
wear smaller red feathers from the tail of the macaw, hanging from
the head onto the back. The Vuirantxiña are similarly adorned and
also wear macaw fluff on their arms.

192 Concerning the word apatxiñi, Curt Nimpendajé wrote me as fol-
lows in a letter dated February 20, 1936: "The Tapirapé word
apatxiñi is the usual Tupí term for a gathering of people for a common
task (ordinarily, for one of the individuals involved)." [Ed., the
remainder of the quotation, p. 98 and first paragraph on p. 99, is
omitted.]

476 [99] On July 30, Kamairahó invited me to go with him to the
[123] apatxiñi. On the previous day, Chief Tampantxiá had already begun
the common felling of trees with several men.

In the afternoon we walked for about an hour through the forest
toward the east, until we reached the spot where people were working

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Fig. 1. Young Tapirape woman with body painting characteristic of women.



Fig. 2. Tapirape youth with frizzy hair, forearm ornaments, and body painting.

plate 1

/409 cont./

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[171] The back baskets are similar in construction to those of the Karajá, but considerably smaller. One back-basket is plaited out of two palm fronds, like those of the Karajá; /410/ the ribs form the two longitudinal poles, the interwoven inner part of the fronds the bottom, the outer part the open-work edge. Their dimensions are 87 centimeters in length, 26 centimeters in width, 14 centimeters in height. Carrying bands are absent. The other back basket (Pl. 69, Ill. 5), by contrast, is made of only one frond in that the rib is broken twice and in this way forms the two longitudinal poles and the bottom cross-pole. To strengthen the longitudinal poles, two separate poles are tied on. The bottom plaiting and the lateral rods are /Ills. 269 and 270 appear here/ made considerably more neatly than in the previous one. It is only 68 centimeters long, 25 centimeters wide, and 15 centimeters high.

The bags are all made out of one palm frond in such a way that the rib forms the lower cross-edge, above which the bag, plaited out of pinnae, is built up (Pl. 69, Ills. 6-8). It is rectangular in shape throughout and is made with a simple one-up-one-down plaiting. Where carrying bands are present, they are fastened to the long side or the transverse side. /411/ Only one bag (Pl. 69, Ill. 9) is different in shape; its upper edge is drawn together tightly, so that only a small round opening remains, below which the bag bulges out in all directions. The measurements of the bag are: 10-16 centimeters high, 15-37 centimeters long.

- 301 Concerning other finds, there are still to be mentioned: a tassel of red cotton yarn that corresponds exactly to a cut-off, youth's neck-tassel from the Karajá. And then two arrows. One of these (Ill. 270a) has a flat wooden point 43 centimeters long, with parts cut out on two sides and double-edged sharpness. The taquara shaft is 110 centimeters long and bears in back the two-part feathering, the twist of which makes a quarter turn and which is fastened only at the upper and lower end by winding. The upper winding consists of black cotton; into it little red feathers are tied toward the inside. The space between the feathers is

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Fig. 3. Tapirapé youth with another type of body painting.



Fig. 4. Young Tapirapé woman with body painting characteristic of women.



Fig. 5. Tapirapé man named Irãvay, with body painting.



Fig. 6. Tapirapé youth with body painting and forearm ornaments.

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Fig. 7. Tapirapé girl with the ornaments characteristic of immature girls.



Fig. 8. Tapirapé youth.

881 On the eve of the ritual, the preparations begin. The youth's
 [302] body is painted black with genipap. On his face, a black line is
 drawn under the mouth and a circle under the eyes, which are elongated with a line at the corners. The father or uncles put the last touches on a large diadem. At dawn on the day of the ceremony, [346] the youth is led to the large ceremonial house built in the center of the Tapirapé village, and his hair is set to support the large [292] ankungitana (diadem) made of numerous macaw, parrot, and duck [237] feathers fastened to a base of muriti palm and hard wood and weighing about five kilograms. The hair is trimmed and tied into a roll [302] on the nape of the neck with a cord at least five meters long, to provide a base for the fastening of the large diadem. The lower lip [301] is adorned with a ceremonial quartz tembetá [Tr., cylindrical plug].

The ceremony itself begins late in the morning. For 24 hours [535] the youth dances continually, surrounded by his fellow tribesmen and accompanied by the songs and dances of men and women. He dances ill at ease, for he is soon tired by the weight and discomfort of the ornaments. Tapirapé tradition explains this ritual as a test of endurance for the young men. According to one legend, a Tapirapé ancestor called Xavanamu and his son Makanci were captured by an enemy tribe. Xavanamu was eaten, and his son was forced to dance under the weight of a large diadem and the numerous ornaments that covered his body. At the end of a long day of dancing, Makanci, who had retained his strength, managed to flee and disappeared into the woods followed closely by his foes. He vanished on reaching a large hollow trunk. Nowadays, Tapirapé youths wear ornaments similar to those left behind by their ancestor.

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881 In 1941, when we witnessed the "hair-tying" of the youth [881] Kancinampiô, several Tapirapé predicted that he would cry "for he would become very tired during the night," but the boy stood up valiantly to the test. It is in another way, however, that men recall their initiation. One of them said, "When I danced, I was more beautiful than at any other time." It is true that at no other time of life does the individual get so much attention and make such a show with such rich ornaments. And this during adolescence!

Thus, the Tapirapé turn this ceremony into an opportunity for fun, which their men recall more or less in the same manner as our youths recall their first ball.

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[Facing p. 16]

Tapirapé Indian in the Coming-of-age Dance.

REPRODUCED BY THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES - PHOTO 11.3 - APRIL 1945

- 592 from many villages in the one village, many combinations of relatives now form residential groups.

DRESS AND ORNAMENTS

- 291 Both sexes are nude. Men tie the prepuce over the glans penis with a palm fiber. Both men and women pull out pubic, axillary, and all facial hair. Even eyebrows are considered ugly. Men wear cotton string ligatures around their legs, just below the knee. Men, and sometimes women, wear large cotton wrist bands crocheted directly on to their arms. Young boys and girls sometimes wear similar ornaments on their ankles; these ornaments are painted with a thick coat of red urucú dye and have round cuffs, often 2 to 3 inches (5 to 7.5 cm.) wide. Necklaces of beads given by Neo-Brazilians are highly valued and used almost to excess. Men [302] paint their feet and the calves of their legs red with urucú; both men and women trace a multitude of patterns on their body with black genipa dye.
- 304 Men have their lower lip pierced and wear a small wooden lip plug. Two years or so after women have begun sexual life, patterns in the form of a three-quarter moon are made on their faces by scarification with a paca (Cuniculus paca) tooth knife. Charcoal and plant juices are rubbed into [386] the wounds to leave dark blue designs.

TRANSPORTATION

- [501] The *Tapirape* do not have canoes. All cargoes are carried by the men 482 in a carrying knapsack made from buriti-palm fibers strapped to their backs.

MANUFACTURES

- 286 Weaving.—Hammocks are made by women from native cotton spun on 462 wooden spindles. The technique used is the simple twine weaving used by the *Tupinambá* and other *Tupi* groups.
- 323 Ceramics.—At present, the art of ceramics is declining. Pottery is 462 usually for cooking, and is made by women. Sometimes it bears incised 531 geometrical decorations.
- 531 Gourds.—Gourds are decorated with geometric incisions.
- 285 Basketry.—The most highly developed basketry techniques among the *Tapirape* are woven and twilled. Two types of baskets are flexible and nonflexible ones; both are of buriti fiber. They generally have a quadrangular base and a narrow, round top, and are used mostly to store manioc or maize flour. Flat, round baskets are used as cotton containers [53] or flour sifters. They are usually ornamented with motifs originating in the weave itself; frequently the finished basket is smeared with black genipa and odd strands are scraped off, giving a negative decorative effect.

and sometimes a daughter of important people may be treated as a favorite child, being given special attention and education and being highly decorated during various ceremonies in which such children are central figures. Treatment as a "favorite child" brings prestige throughout one's whole life. A son
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Puberty.—When a boy is about 12 years old, he ties his prepuce over the glans penis. His hair is cropped close to his head, and his entire body is painted black with genipa. He substitutes a short mother-of-pearl lip plug for the long bone one worn by young boys. During this time, the boy must sleep in the men's house. His arms and legs are scratched from time to time deep enough to draw blood, so that he will grow strong. 882
[302]
[301]

When he is about 14 years old, his hair is allowed to grow and is tied at the nape of his neck. His hair is not cut for a year or two in preparation for his puberty ceremony, which is considered the most important event in a man's life. On the appointed day, the boy is richly ornamented, the main ornament being a large diadem principally of red macaw feathers set in a heavy block of wood (pl. 19, top, left). This diadem is supported by the hair and weighs well over 10 pounds. For 24 hours the boy is forced to dance continually under the weight of excessive decoration to prove his endurance. [302]
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[292]

During a girl's first three menstrual cycles, a geometric pattern is traced with genipa on her body. During this time, she must refrain from sexual relations. There is no special puberty ceremony for girls. Girls are usually already married at puberty, especially at present with the lack of women. [302]
[582]

Marriage.—Formerly there was some intervillage antagonism, and people preferred to marry within their own village. Despite such antagonism and the fact that villages were 2 to 3 days' walk apart, considerable intervillage visiting occurred, and genealogies show that intervillage marriage was not rare. Today, with refugees from all villages in the one village, antagonisms and local village patriotism exist only in the memory of older people. 621
[578]
[582]
[574]

Men marry immediately after the initiation rites, and the women, at least in modern times, at any time after the age of 7 or 8 years. People do not marry cousins who are called "brother" and "sister" of close connection, but marriage with those of distant relationship is not infrequent. Monogamy is the absolute rule. 582

Because the population has declined and men outnumber women, marriage rules have been somewhat altered. All women have husbands, and there are now about 10 young men waiting for 7- or 8-year old girls. There are also marriages between men and very young pre-adolescent girls; these are brought about because the men are greatly dependent on the women's work. In such cases, the husband goes to live in his wife's house, where his mother-in-law helps the girl work for him. [161]
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[591]

13: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940, 1953) 1964

[P. 397]

SP22 Tapirape SP22



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**Champukwi of the
Village of
the Tapirs**

Charles Wagley

Charles Wagley

123 the subject of conversation when listening to a strange language.)
 [179] Then, of course, our presence was materially valuable—for the salt, knives, needles, beads, mirrors, and other presents we brought were greatly appreciated. However, within a very short time some of these people began to emerge as individuals. Awanchowa, a small boy of about 6, followed me about and literally haunted our little house, staring at our large bag of salt which he ate with the same relish children in other cultures eat sweets. Then there was Tanui, a woman of middle age (whose hair was cropped short indicating that a near relative had recently died) who often brought us presents of food. 123 Gradually most of the villagers emerged as distinctive personalities and among them was Champukwi. I cannot remember when I first 115 came to know him as an individual, but his name begins to appear regularly in my field notebooks about one month after our arrival. Soon, he became my best informant, and after a time, an inseparable companion.

115 In 1939 Champukwi must have been about 25 years of age. He [141] was tall for a Tapirapé male, measuring perhaps about 5 feet 6 inches, strongly built but lean, and weighing, I should judge, about [302] 150 lbs. Like all Tapirapé men he wore his hair in bangs across his forehead with a braided pigtail tied at the back of his neck. He was somewhat of a dandy, for his feet and the calves of his legs [301] were painted bright red every evening with *rucu*. From time to time he painted an intricate design on his body, and he wore crocheted [554] disc-like wrist ornaments of cotton string dyed red. He was obviously a man of some prestige among men of his age, for youths and younger men treated him with deference, always finding a seat for him on the bench that was built against one wall of our house. [797] I soon learned that he, too, had spent a short period at a mission [91] station several years earlier and that he knew a few words of Portuguese. He was married and had a daughter about 2 years of age. His wife, hardly attractive according to my American tastes, appeared to be somewhat older than he, and was pregnant when we first met.

115 Champukwi seemed more patient than other Tapirapé with my at-
 [22] tempts to use his language and to seek information. He would repeat
 [129] a word, a phrase, or a sentence several times so that I might write it down phonetically. He resorted to his meager Portuguese and even to mimicry to explain what was meant. His patience was of course

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115 He was always pleased when
 123 we came to listen, particularly if we made the motions of joining in.
 [526] He was an excellent wrestler in Tapirapé style, in which each opponent takes a firm grip on the pigtail of the other and attempts to throw him to the ground by tripping. Our wrestling match was brief although I was much taller than he; and his match with Valentim Gomes, who outweighed him by more than forty pounds, was a draw. Unlike so many who get a glimpse at a seemingly "superior" cultural world, Champukwi never became dissatisfied with his own way of life.

122 In June of 1940, my period of residence among the Tapirapé
 123 Indians ended. The waters on the savanna which had to be crossed
 [101] afoot to get to the Tapirapé River where our canoe was moored had not completely receded. Many Tapirapé friends, among them Champukwi, offered to carry our baggage, made lighter after a final distribution of gifts, down to the river. The night before our departure of a festival with the usual songfest was held to celebrate the final phase of a ceremony during which a youth, this time the nephew of Kamiraho, became a man. Some Brazilian tribes make this occasion an ordeal by such means as applying a frame of stinging wasps to the body of the novice, but it is characteristic of the Tapirapé that the "ordeal" consists only of decorating the youth with a headdress of magnificent red macaw feathers, painting his body elaborately, and making him the center of dancing and singing—although the youth must himself dance continuously for a day and a night. Champukwi led the singing most of the night, but at dawn he came to our house to supervise the packing of our belongings into the basket-like cases made of palm which are used for carrying loads of any kind. He divided the baggage among the younger men. Even some of the older household leaders decided to accompany us but they, of course, did not carry anything. Our trip was slow because everyone was tired after the all-night festival and because of the water through which we had to wade. At one point, rafts had to be made to transport our baggage across a still-swollen stream. Since the Tapirapé do not swim—or, like Champukwi, they swim but poorly—it was the job of the *tori* to swim and push the rafts. I had the honor of swimming across the stream, pushing the respected chieftain, Kamiraho. (How he got back, I shall never know.) After a day and a half, we reached the landing on the Tapirapé River, and the next